

Journal (June 27th - September 30th, 1825) Journal of my trip to Jocja Karta in 1825

Monday, June 27th The government having entrusted me with the direction of the restoration of the Resident's house in Djocja [Yogya], which the engineering department had begun according to my plans, I left Bandung [Bandung] this morning to resume work on this building, which had been stopped towards the end of last year. I arrived in Chérifton [Cirebon] in the evening at eight o'clock; continued my journey at ten o'clock.

Tuesday, June 28th At four o'clock in the morning, I arrived in Tagal [Tegal], at noon in Pakalongan [Pekalongan], and at nine o'clock in Samarang [Semarang].

Wednesday, June 29th I left Samarang very early, but arrived near the Djati Ngale [Jati Ngaleh] post office when an axle on my carriage broke. I returned on foot to Samarang, where, being unable to use a government carriage - all out of service - the Assistant-Resident (1) helped me by advising me to rent one at my own expense, with which I came to sleep in Salatiga. I could not see Mr. Domis (2), as he was unwell.

Thursday, June 30th This morning, passing through Ampèl, I made a sketch of the post office and the beautiful *waringin* and *kurra* [kura] (3) trees that surround it. At four o'clock I arrived in Djocja [Yogya], which I always revisit with pleasure and which I regard as one of the most pleasant stays in Java. The Resident (4) had been in Bedoyo [Bedhaya] for a long time with his family. I was received by my friend Chevallier (5), whom I was pleased to see again, as well as some other acquaintances I have in this residency: my compatriot Sagermans, Captain Verboon, Boens [Bouwens van der Boijen], etc. (6). I was lodged in the Balé Kambang (7), an apartment that I had occupied on my previous trips.

Friday, July 1st Chevallier, wishing to talk to the Resident of the Kadoe (8) before his upcoming departure for Batavia, left this morning for Magelan [Magelang]. The Resident Smisart [Smislaert] (9) arrived this morning from Bedoyo at nine o'clock; I had lunch at Sisque Delattre's (10). We spent part of the day taking the measurements necessary to continue the construction of the residency, and in the evening we left for Bedoyo, where we arrived at dusk.

Saturday, July 2nd Bedoyo, which I visited for the first time, is a pretty casino on the slope of Marah-Api [Gunung Merapi]. The layout is well-distributed. It enjoys a very vast view of the surroundings of Djocja and extends to the sea and the southern mountains (Gounong Kidoel [Gunung Kidul]) (11). As for its surroundings, they are insignificant: the terrain is barren ash in which the miserable coffee plantations that surround this

countryside vegetate. Considering them, one is astonished at the work they must have cost. The Sultan who redeemed them will never get anything from them except firewood. Already, even some of the trees are dead, and Mr. d'Abo (12), who formed this establishment, was too happy to cede it in such an advantageous manner.

In the morning, I looked for a spot from which I could take a sketch of this place, but to no avail. The temperature is very mild, one of the greatest merits of this location. In the evening, I returned to Djocja with Messrs. Ditrè [Dietrè] (13) and Boens van der Boyen, the Resident's house friend. Since my last trip, he has become his relative (14), something I have never heard of before. It seems as obscure to me as the motives for his stay in Java. He seemed very close, as did Mr. Smissart, to one of my old college companions, ex-Captain Martini (15), who still lives in Djocja, although his stay must constantly remind him of the unpleasant circumstances he experienced there.

Sunday, July 3rd Chevallier is back from Magellan [Magelang]. We went to dinner together at Rodjo-Villagon [Rajawinangun] (16), where he has lived for some time. You see that I am not the only one who likes this charming retreat.

Thursday, July 7th Today we resumed work on the Resident's house, it is true with few workers because we lack lumber. It must be said that in this regard Mr. ... [Smissaert?] has talked a lot, discussed, and done nothing at all. He justifies his reputation (17).

Friday, July 8th These past few days, I have followed Chevallier to Rodjo Villangon: we always go there after four o'clock. Often some friends come to share a good, unpretentious dinner. The evening is spent in conversation. Chevallier has made two very interesting trips into the interior provinces of the empires of Soura Karta [Surakarta] and Djocja (18). The accounts he has given me of the reports, especially those of the latter, bring tears of pity and indignation; and yet the gazettes are filled with praise for the growing prosperity, a fruit of our institutions. And modestly written by the authors, they cite the increase in farms quadrupled in a few years as proof of the progress of trade and agriculture. Yes! Farms have increased, but how?... by the most horrible vexations of Chinese bandits [who] have managed to pay for this proof of prosperity. He who has traveled the countryside devastated by their crimes has said it... and has not been believed. He spoke with prejudice [it was said] and the proven murders of female chiefs stripped and insulted in the presence of their spouses, of the unfortunates torn apart by dogs, have been regarded as exaggerations... justice is slow in coming!

Saturday, July 9th This morning, Chevallier and I visited several bridges he is having repaired between Djocja and Klaten [Klathèn]. Different Tomogons [Tumenggung] are in charge of these various works. At Kali Opa

[Kali Opak] we found Tomunggong Wiro Ngoro [Tumenggung Wiranagara], commander of the Sultan's troops (19). As we approached Kalassan [Kalasan], we saw about a hundred men armed with pikes and rifles coming towards us, led by four or five Chinese (20). These gentlemen were going to attack a nearby village, some of whose inhabitants had avoided passing through the roads where tolls are placed. This particularity supports what I have said above, and if such excesses take place at the gates of the capital [i.e. Yogyakarta], what cannot such rascals allow themselves in the remote provinces! In truth, what I have written is nothing compared to all that has happened in recent years in this beautiful country. It would take a pen other than mine to describe the thefts, the swindles of all kinds that I have heard cited. No one has been punished: they enjoy the fruits of their rapine in peace.

At the bridge near Klaten, we had tea with Raden Adipati Danureja (21), one of the most handsome Javanese I have seen. He was regent of Japan [Majakerta]. He is said to be fond of the government. The same cannot be said of the one I mentioned above [i.e. Wiranagara]. He has inspired mistrust in many Europeans.

Tuesday, July 12th The Prince Manko Ngoro [Mangkunagara] (22) having offered the government lumber from his forests, Mr. Secretary, Ditrè and I left this morning for Soura Karta. At the post office, past Klaten, I believe it is called [salaran] (23), while our horses were being changed, I watched the Javanese passing by, carrying goods to some nearby bazaars [pasar]; a young girl, probably belonging to the post office, was collecting something from the passers-by: *areng* [arèn] sugar, fruits, or money, which she placed in a bamboo trunk. I pointed out this particularity to my traveling companion [Chevallier], who immediately guessed what it was about. He questioned the post *mandour* [mandur] and it turned out that it was a special *salaran* [salaran] tax that these gentlemen had instituted and were collecting for their own benefit, following the example that a certain retired soldier supervising the posts had given them. Chevallier fired him immediately.

Wednesday, July 13th I spent this day buying the lumber that brought me to Soura Karta. We visited, Mr. MacGillavry (24), Chevallier and I, Pangéran Manko Ngoro [Pangéran Mangkunagara]. With the assistance of Mr. Second Resident [MacGillavry], we hope to obtain what we desire.

Thursday, July 14th Returned from Soura Karta, I found in Djocja the *Steur Jekel* [Bekel ?], the surveyor, who has been promised to me now that my trip is coming to an end.

Friday, July 15th We have resumed our sweet habits and our evening dinners in Rodjo Villangon. Our company has been increased by the arrival of Mr. de Haan (25), who is coming to spend a few days with us.

Saturday, July 16th This evening quietly in Rodjo Villangon. Chevallier received a private letter from Mr. MacGillavry, provisional resident of Soura Karta. It warned him that the Pangéran of Djocja at Dipo Nogoro [Dipanaganara] - one of the guardians of the young Sultan (26) - was gathering armed men at his house and preparing for war. Our friend immediately mounted his horse and went to Djocja. At eleven o'clock he was back. According to what he told me, he had instructed the secretary of Raden Adipati (27) to call him back immediately, while a man named Prawiradimedjo [Prawiradimeja] (28), a trusted man of Rychbesturde [Rijksbestuurder] (29), was sent to find out if Panguéran Dipo Nogoro was at his house and to place him under surveillance. Mr. Wiseman [Wieseman] (30) was also warned to take the measures necessary for the tranquility of the kraton.

Sunday, July 17th A rain that has not stopped has nailed me to my Balé Kambang all day. I could not get to our hermitage [i.e. Rajawinangun] and went to bed early to put an end to my boredom.

Monday, July 18th Yesterday, Prawiradimeja reported that Prince Dipo Nogoro was behaving like a fool, going almost naked, but until that moment he had no armed men near him. This man remained in charge of carefully watching the prince's residence. This morning, the Resident and his family arrived from Bedoyo. I was with our friend [Chevallier] at the time. We went to Raden Adipati's [Danureja] house, where we found several Pangéran [and] Tomogongs gathered who had come to report the orders that Prince Dipo Nogoro had given.

For some time (three months) the Resident had been warned that this prince had retired to a grotto (31), that he had made extraordinary prayers and fasts according to Javanese custom when practicing the *tapa* (32) which aims to obtain from the divinity some particular grace or the success of a great enterprise. At the last feast of Pouassa [Puwasa] (33), he behaved very rudely towards the Resident, addressing him and his secretary only with the lowest expressions in the Javanese language. The latter had even reproached him for this way of speaking. I have been told that at this festival or another, he had forgotten himself to the point of calling the Resident "bald head" while proposing to drink with him! On this occasion, the Raden Adipati had complained of his insolence.

The state of affairs having been examined by the Resident, the Raden Adipati, and the regents, the Resident decided to send two envoys from the Raden Adipati, equipped with a letter (34), to Pangéran Dipo Nogoro. During this embassy, our friend Chevallier, accompanied by Ditrè, a retired translator, examined the surroundings of the kraton [dalem] or residence of Prince [Dipanaganara] on horseback. They could not notice any movement, although the envoys reported on their return that, from inside his kraton

[dalem], they had noticed more armed men than usual, that the prince had received the letter and read it, but refused to give a written answer.

In the evening, the other guardian of the Sultan - Pangéran Manko Boumi [Pangéran Mangkubumi] - came to inform the Resident that Prince Dipo Nogoro had bad intentions, that he had used all possible means to dissuade him, but without success. He [i.e. Smissaert] treated him harshly and replied that he would be responsible for what Dipo Nogoro undertook and that, in case of trouble, he would have him arrested himself (35). Manko Boumi promised the Resident to return to Dipo Nogoro tomorrow morning [i.e. July 19, 1825] and to report this visit to him.

In the meantime, an evasive reply was received from Prince Dipo Nogoro to the letter that the Resident had written him that morning to ask for an explanation of his conduct. It showed the Resident that the measures he had taken were quite insufficient. Chevallier repeatedly offered to go and speak to Dipo Nogoro himself, which it was not deemed appropriate to accept because the whole affair was regarded with too little importance. As I said, this inconsistency had already turned into a joke the warnings that had been received for some time, of the change that had taken place in the conduct of the seditious prince.

Tuesday, July 19th In the morning, we learned that armed men were gathering at Dipo Nogoro's house and that his wives and children had been taken to Sélarong (36). Pangéran Manko Boumi came to report to the Resident that Dipo Nogoro was behaving like a madman, saying that he had gathered armed men because he knew that the Resident intended to have him arrested; at another moment, because he wanted the dismissal of Raden Adipati (37). It was easy to see that all these answers were only ways to buy time and gather more people. The Raden Adipati then advised to have him arrested by some European troops. The rest of the day was spent in useless talks without any decision being taken. The intentions of the seditious prince were no longer in doubt. Already several Javanese were seeking to protect their most precious effects; everything was preparing for war (38).

The fear inspired by the responsibility towards the government prevented a decisive measure from being taken. For my part, I agree with our friend [Chevallier]: I would risk it.

Wednesday, July 20th The intention that our faithful Chevallier had shown to visit with Manko Boum himself did not follow. It appears that Manko Boum feared that this visit might have fatal consequences for my friend since he urged the Resident to oppose this step. Tommungong Wiro Nogoro [Tumenggung Wiranagara], commander of the Sultan's guards, has requested ammunition for his troops to be able to maintain by force the necessary order in the kraton (39).

Prince Manko Boumi was called by the Resident, who ordered him to change the designs of Dipo Ngoro. This threatening way of repeating to him that he would be responsible for the troubles that might happen had very disadvantageous consequences for us. Manko Boumi left us and went to join Pangéran Dipo Ngoro, whom he no longer left and near whom the gatherings of armed men increased visibly. Tommungong Sinto Ngoro [Tumenggung Sindunagara] was again sent with a letter. This message was no more successful than the first.

As it was rumored that Pangéran Dipo Ngoro intended to seize the young Sultan, Ratu Agung, his grandmother, requested that the most expeditious means be sought to arrest the sedition, which had become much more dangerous since Manko Boum's defection (40). Anyone who knows the passive obedience of the Javanese to their chiefs will be able to conceive of the consequence of a revolt at the head of which were the first two princes of the Sultan's family, his tutors, and who, for four years, had been in possession of ordering as sovereign, and who had never accounted for the revenues of the minor Sultan that they had always received (41).

It was finally decided to abandon the unfortunate system of hesitation that had been held until today and to resort to military force. The prajourit [prajurit] or Javanese guard of the Sultan, twenty-five men from his European guard on horseback, commanded by Lieutenant Wiseman, twenty-five hussars under the orders of Lieutenant Thiery [de Thierry] (42), a platoon of flankers with Lieutenant Vanderplats [Van der Plas] (43), and two cannons directed by Officer Mossel (44) had been assembled. This column left, directed by Chevallier and Thiery, to attack the kraton [dalem] of Dipo Ngoro (45), located in the middle of rice paddies and where it could only be reached by a road, which probably intentionally this prince had never wanted to repair (46).

Some distance from the kraton [dalem], the column stopped. Tommogong Sinto Ngoro reported a written refusal from Dipo Ngoro to surrender. The rebels were placed in large numbers in front of the prince's residence. Chevallier found a Javan brave enough to propose an accommodation to them again. He was insulted and disarmed. They began to use their slings and to throw stones and glass [iron] balls. Our friend [Chevallier] advanced alone [and] cried out to them that he wanted only peace, but he was answered only by booing and stones. Then he allowed Mr. Thiery to command the attack. It began with two cannon shots that killed some men at the gate of the kraton [dalem]. The flankers opened fire: the mob dispersed. The princes abandoned the kraton [dalem]. Then the cavalry on one side, the infantry on the other, turned [turned] the dessa [désa] that surrounded it (47).

All the rebels could be seen retreating slowly through the rice paddies. Pangéran Dipo Ngoro was not far away, riding a beautiful black horse,

superbly harnessed. He was dressed all in white according to the Arab costume (48). The schall [shawl] of his turban fluttered in the wind while he made his horse prance. The reins attached to his belt, he *tandaquait* (49) in the midst of a troop of his confidants armed with spears. Chevallier and Thierry recognized him and charged him, but they soon found themselves bogged down in the rice paddies and could not reach him, although they had approached him within pistol range. The prince, taking advantage of a path on which he found himself, managed to escape (50). Several rebels were killed. On our side, we lost only a quartermaster of the Sultan's guard and three men of the same corps who were wounded by spear blows. The terrain not allowing our small column to pursue the enemy, it returned to the fort around five o'clock, where I also took up my quarters at my friend Sagermans', not caring about the big house [i.e. the Residence] where everything was in trouble and confusion.

Thursday, July 21st This morning the princes and regents were assembled to choose a guardian for the sultan: Pangéran Adi Nogoro [Pangéran Adinagara]. But during the past night, he had the guard at the kraton and he had left it with Prince Sourio-dipouro [Suryadipura] to join the two rebels (51). Instead of discussing this new incident, the session was spent on healths and toasts that were made to the young Sultan, and we were with De Haan to see this ridiculous session that seemed most out of place in the circumstance in which we found ourselves (52). It was easy to see what impression this made on the Javanese, and especially the distrust that was affected to be shown to them. To repair these blunders a little and reassure the Sultan's family, Chevallier thought it appropriate to settle in the kraton, where he spent the night (53).

Friday, July 22nd These princes and regents were assembled again and were informed of a proclamation from the Sultan bearing the state seal, which declared the seditious princes Dipo Nogoro, Manko Boumi, Adi Nogoro and Sourio-dipouro deprived of their rights. This proclamation was then read publicly in the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara] opposite the fort. I was near the gate when the Resident returned. Behind him followed gravely some *oppassers* [attendants] with glasses and bottles. Perhaps the intention was to water the audience, a singular way of working the spirits! The way in which Mr. [Smissaert] wanted to engage the princes and regents to remain faithful to the Sultan and the government deserves to be remarked. He told me himself that he had made the following speech to them: "I know that it is easy for you to massacre all the Europeans who are here since there were a thousand Javanese against one, but if that happened the government would send others." One can judge what effect such a speech must have produced, spoken in the midst of the Javanese and the Europeans, both military and others! There was enough to discourage the most resolute (54).

The Ratou Agon having seemed to desire that hostages be taken for more safety: Pangéran Soerio bronto [Suryabrangta] son [younger brother] (55)

of Dipo Ngoro, Prawiro Diningrat [Prawiradiningrat], brother of the Ratou Agon whose son had followed the rebels, and Radèn Mas Tomogong, brother of Ratou Kentjono [Ratu Kencana], were conducted to the fort (56). In the afternoon arrived Colonel Von Jett (56), commander of the 2nd military division, accompanied by Captain Keer (57), engineer, with some infantry and cavalry troops that Prince Ario Manko Ngoro (58) sent to our aid. Chevallier has again gone to sleep in the kraton, where his presence inspires more tranquility.

Saturday, July 23rd We had news that a company of flankers and twenty-five gunners coming from Samarang were crossing the Kadou to reinforce us (59). In the morning, the rumor spread that these troops had been attacked. Lieutenant Sisque Delatre [Delattre] was sent to meet them with a platoon of hussars and some infantry. Of the one hundred and twenty-five men that Captain Komsius [Kumsius] (60) commanded, he found only 80 men with the captain and a lieutenant, the rest were lost or massacred. He had also been obliged to abandon fl. 28,000 in silver, which we needed most and which had been placed under his guard in Magellan. Delatre charged the rebels, who fled. He pushed four pillars further, found the remains of one of the boxes that contained the money, and brought back three wounded from Komsius' rear guard. Komsius declared that he had been at Pissangan [Pisangan] between four fires and had been obliged to abandon his rear guard and the money. However, he has no wounded: the soldiers he has brought did not burn a primer, and twenty-five hussars have dispersed the rebels. This officer will have difficulty exculpating himself. It is said that he marched without precaution and that his rear guard was dispersed. This costs us 45 men and Lieutenant Bogart [Boogert] (61); the bombardier Rauw was also massacred in this encounter.

The news of this misfortune increases our confusion, and we do not know whom to believe. However, orders have been given for the march of an expedition that we must make tomorrow towards Bantoul [Bantul], where the rebel princes appear to have established the center of their rebellion (62).

Sunday, July 24th At six o'clock a column, composed of European troops and a part of the Legion of Prince Ario Manko Ngoro (63), two pieces of artillery, and closed [by] some regents and their troops, left the fort and headed towards Bantoul.

The brigands had destroyed the bridges on the whole route and made cuts lined with pointed bamboos. In all the villages floated the flag of the revolt (64). But a few volleys of cannon were enough to dissipate the gatherings composed, for the most part, of people armed with pikes, sticks, and especially slings; firearms were in very small numbers, and no artillery pieces whatsoever were seen (65). The rebels retreated through the rice paddies where it was impossible to reach them, but they soon showed

themselves on our rear, re-entering the villages we had made them abandon.

Arrived in Bantoul, it was resolved to withdraw so as not to tire the troops unnecessarily, since the enemy, not holding on any point, did not allow to reach it and come to grips with him. In this retreat, the rebels followed the column, and the troops of Prince Ario Manko Ngoro were always skirmishing: they behaved with great valor and rivaled our European flankers (66). In the afternoon, the whole column returned without having suffered any losses.

First scene of drunkenness (67); resolution to go to the kraton accompanied by the major, son of Manko Ngoro (68); fear and discontent that this way of acting excites: where on earth do we fish for such people?

Monday, July 25th This morning the brigands presented themselves towards the pyramid (69) which ends the great avenue of Djocja [Jalan Maliabara]. Two platoons of hussars under the orders of Lieutenants [De] Burbure (70) and Sagermans with some hunters of Manko Ngoro are sent against them. The rebels were charged, repulsed, and left some of theirs on the floor. This rabble flees like starlings, but they harass, and we fear famine (71). This causes much more confusion in the fort than outside.

Same conduct of a principal character [Colonel Von Jett]: all day in a state of drunkenness (72). In the evening he still wanted to go to the kraton. He could not speak [and] it was necessary to prevent him from leaving, which took place at the gate of the fort. Another character [Resident Smissaert?] was losing what remained of his brains. All these scenes took place before the garrison. If our enemy had a little courage, he could undertake everything. On our side, the authorities show those of the princes who have remained faithful to us a distrust capable of causing an entire defection.

Tuesday, July 26th Several Javanese have gone over to the enemy. Major Wiro Ngoro continues to maintain order in the kraton. The Ratou Agon, angry at the infidelity of the princes, asks that those who have remained be arrested, which was sanctioned by Prince Pakou Alam [Pakualam] (73). The Ratou Agon also asked to enter the fort with the young Sultan. The fear that some trouble might ensue in the kraton, which is very important for us to preserve, did not allow this proposal to be accepted. This proof of trust and fidelity finally led to the decision to send a guard of flankers and soldiers from the Legion of Manko Ngoro into the kraton. I must say to the praise of Chevalier that this measure was taken following his repeated requests.

The Ratou Agon and Tomogong Wiro Ngoro received letters from Pangéran Adi Ngoro, who takes the title of war chief of the bandits and rebels (*ketjous* [kecu] < *kraman* (74)), by which, after declaring that he in no way wanted the young Sultan, he urged them to trust him and to drive the Dutch from the country. The same proposals were also made to Prince

Pakou Alam; threats were added in case he did not immediately adhere to the party of the rebels (75). Tomogong Major Wiro Nogoro replied for the Ratou Agon and himself that he did not want to hear any proposals from the rebels and that if they dared to present themselves before the kraton, they would be received with pikes and bayonets.

As soon as the European troops entered the kraton, confidence and tranquility were restored: the soldiers of Manko Nogoro were placed on the ramparts with the *pradjourit* of the Sultan. In all circumstances, praise must be given to Mr. Wiseman, lieutenant, commanding the European guard of the Sultan (77), for the wisdom he showed. This evening some brigands fell into our hands; among them was the Patti [Patih] of the prince (78). Major Sourio-di-pouro of Manko Nogoro's troops himself led them out of the fort where they had been interrogated. This Patti carried an appointment as leader of the insurrection.

Wednesday, July 27th The insurgents, emboldened by our timidity, are closing in on us. Insufficient measures have been taken to drive them away, and their audacity is increasing. We no longer have any communication: the bridges on the main roads from Soura Karta and Kadou are burned, and the roads are cut (79).

At ten o'clock in the morning, a pistol shot having drawn attention to Lieutenant Thiery's house, it was found that this unfortunate friend had ended his life without knowing the motive that could have led this officer of recognized bravery to commit this cowardice. He had been unwell [?] for a few days. Incoherent words he spoke a few moments before his death should lead to believe that he took his life in a moment of delirium. You can judge whether this loss added to the sorrows we are experiencing to see everything take such a pitiful turn. The ever-increasing disorder that Thiery had before his eyes may have influenced his fatal resolution (80).

Thursday, July 28th The terror has diminished little: there was some world on the bazaar in the morning.

As it is no longer possible to pass letters even with coolies [kuli] disguised, the major, son of Manko Nogoro, proposed to send the letters to Soura Karta by a detachment of 25 hunters and 12 dragoons from his Legion. The two officers who took charge of this expedition were named ... (81) and Siwongso [Radèn Mas Suwongsa] (82). [They] left around nine o'clock in the morning, but the rumor has already spread that near Kalassan they have been attacked and almost all massacred.

At eight o'clock in the evening, we heard gunfire and some cannon shots from the direction of Rodjo Villangon. A moment later, Lieutenant Abell (83) presented himself with some hussars: he told us that Colonel Cochius (84) was a short distance away with a convoy. A detachment with tools and planks was immediately sent out to repair a bridge that was stopping them

(85). At nine o'clock the convoy arrived: it was composed of twenty-five hussars, the Madurese company of Captain Monoie [Monnoije] from Brussels (86), 200 men of Manko Nogoro with two pieces of flying artillery (87), 75 horses loaded with rice and fl. 10,000 in silver. This column began to encounter the enemy in the vicinity of Klaten, where they had burned the Gladak [gladhag] (88) [of] Djocja and the surrounding houses. Near Brambanan [Prambanan] there was another skirmish, but the enemy fled immediately and always kept such a distance that it was not possible to do them much harm.

Friday, July 29th This day was given to the troops to rest. It is proposed to re-establish correspondence with Klaten and Soura Karta by means of a mobile column (89). What I do not understand well, but what I know, is that several of these gentlemen are furiously eager to leave us, whether they will come back to us! The column will consist of fifty hussars of the 7th [regiment of hussars] under the orders of Second Lieutenant Mathot (90), one hundred and fifty men of infantry from the Legion of Pangéran Arto Manko Nogoro, and 80 cavalrymen from the same Legion.

Saturday, July 30th At daybreak, the column left following the main road to Solo [Sala]. Colonel Von Jett and Major Paris de Montaigu (91) took advantage of this opportunity to leave us. We wished them a good journey. My friend Sagermans, who has finally received his commission as captain, commander of Klaten, has also left us. He has left me Dame Catherine and all her household (92). We have still been worried by the barandals [brandhal] (93), but they have soon been repulsed.

Sunday, July 31st Some brigands were taken and abandoned to the Sultan's justice.

Monday, August 1st Today we were worried. The rumor was that the enemy wanted to attack the kraton. The necessary measures were taken. Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the brigands showed themselves on the side of the obelisk [i.e. Tugu] at the end of the avenue. Messrs. Keer and Monote marched there with the Madurese and a cannon. They laid several of theirs on the floor; a fusilier and a drummer of the Madurese were wounded. During this time, some scoundrels set fire to the houses of Dano Ridjan [Danurejan] near the residence of Raden Adipati (94). The fire was violent. The rest is a spectacle that we see every day: they burn their own house (95). For the rest, the tranquility. We [we] are getting used to the danger and the confusion is diminishing.

Tuesday, August 2nd Three brigands surprised and put to death immediately. Fire broke out in the kraton, communicated from a neighboring village. It consumed a large number of houses and extended to the square behind the Sultan's palace. Around two o'clock, we received letters from Sagermans: the column passed without difficulty; 50 men have remained in Klaten, the rest have taken the road to Soura Karta. Why go so

far? His letters inform us that H.E. Lieutenant Governor-General De Kock (96) arrived on the 1st in Solo. This news revives us a little.

Wednesday, August 3rd Today a *santri* was executed who had tried to enter the Massigit [Mesjid Agung?] probably to set it on fire. This day was very quiet.

Note for August 3: Today Chevallier interrogated the son of the rebel prince Dipo Ngoro (97) on what he might know of his father's plans. The declaration of this young man named [Radèn Mas Alip] contains the following facts: Pangéran Dipo Ngoro always showed an inveterate hatred against the Dutch. Five years ago, he one day reproached the deceased Sultan Amanko Bouana IV [Hamengkubuwana IV] for his familiarity with the Europeans. He urged him to shake off their yoke and retake the Kadou. The Sultan thought it wrong that he spoke to him in this way and forbade him to speak to him on this subject. Since that time, Dipo Ngoro no longer appeared at court except on ceremonial days [i.e. the Garebeg]. When the Sultan died, he exclaimed that he was happy that he had left this world because he could now act according to his thoughts. The first prince who adhered to his seditious projects was T. [Pangéran] Sourio-di-pouro (98). He designated Secretary Chevallier, Van den Berg (99), and Boens van der Boyen as those whom the Resident had charged with arresting him. His son not wanting to follow his evil intentions, he sent him back to the kraton. For a long time, he no longer took Padjak [pajak] from his Tjatjas [cacah] and urged them to obtain weapons with what they should have paid him (100). (His rude manners towards several government authorities support this statement).

Thursday, August 4th We receive no news, and the anxiety begins to reappear. Our spies report that we will be attacked; the Javanese troops, prajourit, are tired and desert every day. We can repel small attacks, but our weakness forces us to maintain the strictest defensive, which encourages our enemies and makes them bolder every day.

Friday, August 5th In a skirmish, the Tommogong of our party, Rono Diningrad [Ranadiningrat], received a gunshot wound to the arm (101). Our situation worsens every day. Desertion increases in the kraton (102). Tommogong Wiro Ngoro has requested some artillery pieces. He was given two, belonging, I believe, to the Resident. One of our spies reported that he had seen in Sélarong the young officer of the Manko Ngoro dragoons, Siwongso [Radèn Mas Suwongsa] (103), whom we had believed killed in Kalassan where he was wounded and taken prisoner with one of his cavalrymen. His father, [the] major [Suryadipura], is also in the fort.

Pangéran Aboe Bakar [Pangéran Abubakar] (104), father-in-law of Tommogong Major Wiro Ngoro, escaped this night, bringing with him Wiro Ngoro's son who lived with him. This same Pangéran came a few days ago

to the Resident's house. He was so weakened by the disease that he had to be supported.

Saturday, August 6th No news: this is a singularly re-established communication! The prajourit or bodyguards of the Sultan are deserting one after another by climbing down the walls of the kraton. What [is] worse, is that they take their weapons with them. Of eighty priests (105) who serve in the palace, not even twenty-five remain. The Ratou Agon, seeing that she could not trust any of the people around her, had the Resident warned that she wanted to enter the fort with the young Sultan and the regalia [pusaka ageng] of Mataram (106).

Chevallier went to fetch her in two of the Sultan's carriages. At four o'clock, she entered the fort with the Sultan, the wife of Major Wiro Ngoro (107), and some people of her suite, escorted by a detachment of the Sultan's European guard. The major [Wiranagara] followed the Sultan's carriage carrying the lance of Pleret [Plered]. The Resident received them on the porch of his house, and the court settled in the apartments on the left. I have been told that before leaving the kraton, the Ratou Agon had all the chiefs who had remained faithful assembled. She announced to them that the desertion of the greater part of the Sultan's troops obliged her to provide for the safety of her grandson and the regalia of the crown, that it was she who had asked to place herself under the immediate protection of the Dutch government, that she was in no way forced to enter the fort [but] that only the fear of seeing the young Sultan fall into the hands of the rebel princes obliged her to take this resolution. All those who listened to her seemed moved by this scene. I have had the opportunity to see the Ratou Agon several times: without having beautiful features, she retains a lot of dignity and represents very well (108). The entry of the Sultan into the fort is of great consequence, especially if we can obtain some advantages. The orders of the true sovereign have a lot of power over the Javanese and will bring many back to duty.

After the young Sultan's entry into the fort, I went for a walk with Chevallier in the European camp [kampung welanda]. These good people are in an even more worrying situation than ours because [they] are always about to be looted and massacred. Towards dusk, we were returning to the fort when we saw many women and men walking out of it in haste. In the midst of this group walked the Resident in a white jacket giving his hand to the Ratou Agon. The young Sultan was carried, and all seemed to flee the fort in disorder. It was in this way that he regained the kraton. Chevallier was very upset to see escape the advantage he had obtained for us with so much care. The cause of this hasty departure was the will of a six-year-old child: he had cried, shouted, [and] the Ratou Agon had not been able to resist or rather had not resisted for herself, and they had left the fort without even waiting for carriages. If our situation improves for a moment, some false measure soon makes it more troublesome. Our spies report that

the rebel princes have called to Salarong [Sélarong] all the chiefs of their parties and that they are preparing to attack us seriously on several points (110).

Sunday, August 7th Chevallier went to the kraton this morning: he had a long conversation with the Ratou Agon. It seems that she is determined to bring the Sultan back to the fort. The Ratou was extremely affected by the defection of the people of the kraton. She asked Chevallier to have the Sultan's grand equerry, Roto Widjoyo [Ratawijaya] (111), arrested. He was ready to go over to the enemy, and his wife and children had already left the kraton. This man had been showered with benefits by the deceased Sultan and by the Ratou Agon: he is even accused of having diverted jewels that belonged to them. Our anxiety increases: we are on the verge of losing [the] Pakou Alaman [Pakualaman] and the kraton. The European camp cannot be defended. We will be absolutely confined to the fort, and we are not receiving news from Soura Karta. All this is very sad.

A *koult* passed through the brigands: he brought us news from Magellan and Pantjou. The rebels have attacked Magellan on several occasions, but they have been repulsed with loss of men and several of their chiefs. Pantjou is burned (112). In the evening, our spies came to warn us that we would be attacked tomorrow at four o'clock in the morning. The main attack is to be directed on the kraton of Prince Pakou Alam.

Here is our situation: we have a one-pound cannon at the end of said kraton [i.e. Pakualaman]. It is protected by 15 flankers under the orders of Lieutenant Sauvage (113) and the Prince's troops (114). This piece commands the road that goes [to] Rodjo Villangon and that of... [Kutha Gedhé?]. Near the white pillar [i.e. Witte Paal or Tugu] is a Javanese guard with 35 men from the Legion of Ano Manko Nogoro, in the kraton are 30 flankers, 25 men from the Madurese company of Captain Monote under the orders of Lieutenant Stkes [Sickesz] (117), some troops of Manko Nogoro, the rest of the prajourit and Wiseman's cavalrymen (118). (Nota Bene: that the enclosure of the kraton is three thousand in circumference) (119). 150 men of the Sousouhounan [Pakubuwana VI] guard and some Tommogongs of our party are camped on the alun-alun. The remains of the flankers and the Madurese are in the fort with [the] hussars under Captain Verboon (120).

At nine o'clock Wiseman came to warn that the Ratou Agon, taking advantage of the sleep of the young Sultan, was going to enter the fort. She arrived with her suite a few moments later. This entry had something mysterious: it was lit only by a few candles carried by the people of the suite. The greatest silence was observed, for fear of waking the prince who did not stop sleeping.

Monday, August 8th Around midnight we began to hear gunshots coming from the kraton. I had not gone to bed: I confess that what was going to

happen worried me a lot. Soon I heard cries at the Resident's house: the young Sultan was making a lot of noise and absolutely wanted to return to the kraton. He ordered that the gates be opened to him and asked for his guard. Tired of crying, he fell asleep. They fired from the kraton all night.

The reveille was sounded early in the fort, and around six o'clock the gunfire seemed to come from all points. At seven o'clock, the rebels attacked the kraton of Prince Pakou Alam [i.e. Pakualaman] en masse. Lieutenant Sauvage was very pressed and in danger of losing his piece when Captain Verboon arrived with the hussars and a piece of three [pounds?], which made them retreat a little, but they soon came back to the charge and approached to within thirty paces of the fort's pieces. We heard their hurrahs and the sound of their Bendé [bendh] (121), although the cannon fire did not stop for a moment. It was difficult to know their losses: they rushed to carry away their dead and wounded, who disappeared instantly. As a strong column of rebels was heading for the bridge at the bottom of the European camp [kampung welanda] (122), Captain Verboon, fearing to be completely cut off, crossed this bridge again with his piece while the enemy was contained on this bridge by the bourgeois (123). They began firing again, and at eleven o'clock in the morning, the rebels retreated, heading for Rodjo Villangon and Bazar Gede [i.e. Kutha Gedhé] (124). In the combat, Quartermaster Chevallier was wounded in the arm by a gunshot.

While these things were happening on the side of Pakou Alaman, we were attacked first on the road to Gamping (125). Captain Comsius [Kumsius] marched there with two platoons of flankers and a cannon whose shots put the brigands to flight. But the attack was more serious on the side of the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. The enemy made the Javanese and the troops of Manko Nogoro yield. A platoon of flankers with the brave Lieutenant Van der Plas (126) was sent to their rescue. He stopped their progress for a moment, but the enemy, having slipped behind the walls that border the road in front of the Chinese camp [kampung cina] (127), came to fire on our soldiers at point-blank range. They mortally wounded the flanker Van Strikenbergen [?] and put seven men out of action. The Javanese and Chinese were already retreating. Mr. Van der Plas decided to withdraw to the house of Raden Patti [Adipati]. Then they brought him the cannon that had become useless on the road to Gamping. He attacked the rebels and pursued them to the white pillar [i.e. Witte Paal or Tugu] where they retreated entirely. It is believed that one of their chiefs was seen to fall and a flanker seized a payou [payung] (128). At noon everything was quiet: the forces of the enemy - at least what we have seen - could amount to five or six thousand men, better armed and dressed than those we have encountered until this moment. Our soldiers say they saw among them *prajourit* of the Sultan.

A little recovered from the fear that this attack had caused us, given the weakness of our means, we received a letter from Klaten: it was from Colonel Cochius who gave us the advice that he had left Klaten to march towards us with a strong detachment and two cannons. He engaged our commander (129) to send on his side a reconnaissance to open the way for him in the vicinity of Djocja. You can imagine what pleasure this news gave us. Thus, this day, which we had just reasons to fear, was becoming very happy. We had repulsed the enemy and we were going to be rescued. At six [o'clock], the column of Colonel Cochius arrived at the fort, 400 men strong: namely, twenty-five hussars with Lieutenant Mathot, a company of Madurese [of] Captain Van Ganzen (130), the dragoons, hussars, and infantry of Manko Ngoro followed by five Tommogong from the lands of Solo who are returning to their districts. Among them is the one from Banjoumas (Banyumas) (131). This column also brought us some food and a little money.

Tuesday, August 9th This day, the troops rested. The Ratou Kentjono, mother of the Sultan (132), does not want to leave the kraton (she is the daughter of the former Adipati Dano Ridjo II [Danureja II] whom Sultan Amanko Bouana II [Hamengkubuwana II] had put to death). Since the death of the last Sultan, her husband, she has often shown signs of dementia. In the afternoon, Wiseman brought to the fort the Ratou Mas (first wife of Sultan Amanko Bouana III [Hamengkubuwana III]: she lost the title of Ratou Agong because she had no children) (133), with the sister of the young Sultan, a three-year-old child (134). The day was quite quiet, only at night the guard of the kraton fired almost continuously on some brigands who were prowling around the walls. They killed some of them.

Wednesday, August 10th This morning, [Colonel] Cochius, [Lieutenant-Colonel] Achenbach, [Major] Paris [de Montaigu] [and] Chevallier left with a detachment and two pieces of artillery to go and reconnoiter the enemy on the side of Bazar Gedeh [Kutha Gedhé] - they met almost no one on their route and arrived before this dessa [désa], one of the richest [i.e. Kutha Gedhé]. Chevallier summoned one of the two chiefs of Soura Karta or Djocja to come and speak to him, but both refused saying that they did not dare to come. There were brigands on the edge of the désa who welcomed the parliamentarian with booing and stones. They were not attacked for reasons that in this village are the revered tombs of several Sultans and princes of Mataram and that half belongs to Soura Karta (137). They were asked for a contribution of rice and oil which they promised to pay. The detachment then withdrew towards the fort. Measures have also been taken to facilitate the retreat of our troops out of the kraton, in case the enemy should seize it. I went with Chevallier in the evening to take the Ratou Mas back. We had difficulty seeing the Ratou Kentjono: she finally showed herself. It is suspected that Prince Dipo Ngoro has designs on her (138).

We have received letters from Magellan: Resident Le Clerq [Le Clercq] with five hundred men is holding out against the rebels (139). He repulsed them the day before yesterday [i.e. August 8, 1825] in the morning, but the fire of sedition is gaining: already the districts of Kali Beber and Ledok [Ledhok] (140) have risen. Everywhere the Chinese are massacred; neither women nor children are spared (141). Perhaps the state of affairs has never been more critical.

In the evening, many gunshots were still fired from the kraton. However, the night was quiet.

Thursday, August 11th In the morning, some brigands showed themselves on the side of the avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. They were driven away, and in this skirmish an officer of the Legion of Manko Ngoro was slightly wounded in the arm. A brigand who was trying to set fire to the Chinese camp [kampung cina] was taken this morning. The rest of the day passed without other events. Colonel Cochius is making his preparations to leave for the Kadou. In the evening, the bourgeois sent him a deputation to beg him to stay a few more days, but the orders he had did not allow him to acquiesce to their request. Work has been done to tear down walls and make openings in the kraton to facilitate the retreat of the troops. All the empty bottles have been requisitioned, to be broken and placed in the avenues that can facilitate the attack (142).

Friday, August 12th At daybreak, Lieutenant Colonels Cochius and Achenbach, Major Paris [de Montaigu] [and] [Mr.] De Kock son (143) left us with the column that arrived on the 8th [August]. They left us one hundred men from the troops of Manko Ngoro. The column marched on Klaten instead of going to Magellan. If I had known this change sooner, I would have taken advantage of it to leave Djocja, however, I confess that I would part from Chevallier with the greatest difficulty. Hardly have the troops left us that we are already experiencing new misfortunes. The lack of food is causing all the troops to desert. This evening Mr. Kriegenberg [Von Kriegenbergh] (144), commanding the one hundred cavalymen of the Sousouhounan, came to report to Chevallier that in the afternoon eighty Javanese hussars of the Sultan had gone foraging and had not reappeared, as well as the four officers who commanded them. We have been told that there are many people gathered at Bazar Ghedé. By the column of today I have written to Schneither (145) and to the resident de Capellen [Van der Capellen] (146).

Saturday, August 13th Around ten o'clock, many rebels were gathered opposite [the] Pakou Alaman and seemed to want to attack this point. The commander sent Captain Monote against them with flankers, and Sisque [Delatre] and a platoon of hussars. These gentlemen made a successful maneuver and, despite their small number, managed to turn the enemy who retreated precipitately and did not reappear. They left some dead, and we

lost no one. Tommogong Antho Widjoyo [Tumenggung Antawijaya] (147) commanded these bandits under the orders of Pangéran Adi Nogoro (148), who was also present. He attributed to himself the title of general of the army or chief in the war: (Senapati Ingologo [Sénapati Ingalaga]).

This night around ten o'clock, we had a vivid alarm: some Brandals [brandhal], presented themselves at the Chinese camp [kampung cina] and set fire to bamboo barracks. The Chinese began to sound the brengbreng (149) [brèng-brèng] making great cries. The garrison of the fort took up arms. Three patrols were sent out. Everything soon returned to order: two of the incendiaries were seized and handed over to the Radèn Adipati. (Nota Bene: these incendiaries turned out to be servants that a Chinese himself had sent to fetch rice and all this must be only an accidental fire and a false alarm).

Sunday, August 14th The whole day was quiet. We know that the enemy is gathering many people at Bazar Ghedé and Krapiak [Krapyak] (150). In the evening we received news from Magellan: Mr. Le Clercq has repelled all the attacks that have been made against him. The revolted have also presented themselves on the side of Kali Beber and Ledok but they have been obliged to withdraw. Our spies have warned us that you will be attacked tomorrow around nine o'clock: [Pangéran] Adi Nogoro will conduct the attack on [the] Pakou Alaman; [Pangéran] Manko Boumi will be on the side of Gamping, and Pangéran Blitar (151) will come by the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. We have made the necessary arrangements to receive them in the best way possible. The night was quiet. Work has also been done this day to fortify the different avenues with palisades and abattis.

Monday, August 15th Early in the morning, the available troops left the fort with our field pieces to take up posts in the places assigned to them. The rebels were showing themselves in force towards the kraton [i.e. dalem] of Prince Pakou Alam. Captain Komsius with Lieutenant Van der Plas defended this point. [Captain] Monote, with a detachment, was with a piece [at the] bridge, at the bottom of the European camp. On this side, the enemy attacked in three columns: he was allowed to approach to good range, and he was repulsed three times. The last time, the bourgeois and the few flankers took him in flank, and although he dragged away his dead and wounded, the traces of blood they left proved that many of theirs were out of action. During this attack, Commander Bowens [Bouwensch] (152) had a bomb thrown from the fort which did not have a great effect. One of the enemy columns presented itself towards the south-west bastion of the kraton. The musketry prevented it from approaching. The third [enemy column] which attacked the east side of the kraton [i.e. dalem] of Prince Pakou Alam was also repulsed and lost one of its chiefs (a Demang): his head was cut off and planted on a bamboo. We had only one flanker wounded.

On the side of Gamping, the rebels only showed themselves without advancing. We had a piece at the corner of the avenue; a bomb was thrown against them. It fell opposite the house of Adi pouro [Adipurwa?] (153) halfway to its range. Probably our powder is not of the best quality (154). The rebels had presented themselves in great numbers in the avenue of Soura Karta (155), but Captain Keer of the engineers received them with cannon shots, and they withdrew quickly. A moment later, they set fire to several houses behind the Chinese camp [kampung cina]. They even penetrated into the gardens of the residence through an opening they made in the enclosure wall. Two platoons of flankers were sent against them, who, after a quarter of an hour of fairly lively fire, forced them to evacuate the road that runs parallel to the great avenue and forced them to retreat.

At one o'clock, there was no more firing, and the rebels were retreating towards Bazar Ghedé and Krapiak, the usual places of their gatherings. The rest of the day and the night was [were] quiet. The Radèn Adipat: has sent the Tomogong of our party to set fire to what remains of the houses in the dessas that can favor the approach of the enemy.

Tuesday, August 16th The day passed without incident. We are reported that the rebels have lost many people and that one of the principal chiefs has been wounded. A man who brought letters from Soura Karta to the major commanding the troops of Manko Ngoro says that from Solo to Gondang [Gondhang] (156) everything is quiet; that the column that left Djocja on the 12th [August] is still in Klaten, where military effects have arrived, and that he has seen brigands only in the vicinity of Gondang and Kallasan.

Wednesday, August 17th Nothing very interesting has happened: vague news tells us that Pangéran Adi Sourio (157) has been taken by Manko Ngoro's runners and taken to Solo; that Pangéran Anom Ingologo Sinopati [Sénapati Ingalaga] Adi Ngoro is dead from the wounds he received on the 15th [August] (158). In the evening we were warned that the rebels gathered at the Rixo Nogaran [Reksanegaran] (159) wanted to attack [the] Pakou Alaman from the north. This kept us awake a part of the night which passed however without events.

Thursday, August 18th This morning various vagabonds suspected of being brigands were brought. They were put in chains. White soldiers were not prevented from having a little fun with them, I saw an officer strike one of these men, said to be *santri* (160), as best he could: another, left in the hands of the soldiers, was treated in the most merciless manner, trampled underfoot, and carried away dying, vomiting blood. What I write, I have seen...!

We are enjoying a tranquility that worries us; it is likely that it precedes some serious attack. We have been told for a long time of a general attack that should take place on the 8th of the month of Sourah [Sura]. Dipo

Nogoro dreamed that Sultan Agon [Agung] had indicated this day to them as the one where he would obtain brilliant successes over us (161). Thus, August 22 must decide our fate if the dreams are not lies!

Friday, August 19th The day was very quiet. At noon the bourgeois who lack food made an excursion. They were given a platoon of flankers and a detachment of hussars to support them, all under the orders of Captain Comsius. They pushed to Rodjo Villangon from which they drove out the brigands. On their return, they took a little rice and some livestock. Generally, there have still been many complaints about one of the chiefs of these detachments (163): he had led his troop and his cavalry into a village so tucked away that in case of attack no one could have gotten out. Some Javanese had hidden in a drain they had dug. A *santri* lunged at a sergeant and would have snatched his rifle from him, but Lieutenant De Gros (164) struck him with his saber. Then this furious man seized the officer, knocked him down, and was piercing him with his kris when a Madurese soldier saved his life by killing the Javanese at point-blank range. All that was in the ditch was killed, and the priest's wife was massacred with two small children.

The sedition has extended very far: the main road between Pakalongang, Tagal, and Samarang is interrupted and the post goes by sea (165). For the rest, the states of Solo are very quiet, and the court shows a lot of goodwill (166). Yesterday [the] 18 [August], the troops of the emperor [i.e. Sunan Pakubuwana VI] with some Europeans under the conduct of Lieutenant Schlosser (167), attacked at Trudok [Trucuk?] (168) [the] rebel Tomogong Merto-loyo [Mertalaya] (169) whom they drove from this post from which he worried the surroundings of Klaten. I received a letter from Bocarmé (170) today.

Saturday, August 20th Our spies agree to warn us that next Monday [next] we will be attacked by all the forces of the enemy having at their head the fanatic Dipo Nogoro himself (171). The news of the death of Adi Nogoro is also contradicted. Colonel Achenbach has taken command of the fort and all the troops today. We are occupied, as much as the small number of workers we have allows, to establish palisades in the most exposed places. The effective strength of our troops without the officers is 1,100 men. Not included in this number are the Javanese of the kraton and those who follow the Tomogongs who have remained faithful to us. We have 6 field pieces and we do not lack ammunition.

Sunday, August 21st The residence office was transferred this morning to the front part of the house that I occupy. The reports on the intentions of the enemy are that Pangéran Dipo Nogoro will attack from the side of Gamping (172) [and] that he will have 400 priests for his guard (173). If he cannot gather this number, he will be content with 200 and at least 44. He will be accompanied in addition by all the [rebel] princes. He will come to

establish himself at the passeban [paséban] (174) from where he will give his orders. We are warned that the action must begin this very evening. On this, the troops took up arms at five o'clock and assembled in front of the fort, and at 6 o'clock the different detachments went to their posts: on the road to Gamping, Captain Van Gansen with two pieces and 100 men; in the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara], Captain Monnoye [with] two pieces and 100 men; at Pakou Alaman, Captain Comsius; in the kraton, Captain Cloesterhuis: the reserve under the orders of Captain Commander Boens bivouacs opposite the fort with a piece.

This morning, Mr. Resident Smissaert thought he should organize the bourgeois guard (175). On this occasion, he transported himself [with] Lieutenant Colonel Achenbach and Chevallier to the European camp where these gentlemen were gathered. He gave a speech that gives a fair idea of his eloquence. After telling gentlemen the bourgeois that although it was not probable that we would still be attacked, it was good to organize their service and to make them know the chiefs to whom they must obey. Mr. Smissart used several times the elegant expression of "jongentjes" which made with some other of this genre (like "krakelen") a wonderful effect. The colonel [Achenbach], at the end of his homily, having reminded him that it was prudent to warn gentlemen the bourgeois of the projects of the enemy, he added to conclude that tomorrow we will be attacked on all points! Let's compare the end and the beginning of this speech and we will be able to see the fair measure of [this gentleman].

The Ratou Agon entrusted to Major Radèn Tomogong Wiro Nogoro a kris pousaka [pusaka] of the crown (176).

Tuesday, August 22nd Despite appearances, the night passed quietly although few of us delivered ourselves to rest. The enemy hardly knows the advantage of attacking at night.

It is nine o'clock in the evening, and thank God! we are still alive and have not lost an inch of ground. From daybreak, the posts had been reinforced. At nine o'clock in the morning, little movement was hardly seen. The troops [who] had bivouacked, returned. It seems that the rebels noticed it because, at ten o'clock, a gunfire was engaged behind the gardens of the residence. They withdrew and then presented themselves in the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. [Captain] Monnoye sent them some volleys of cannon which killed some of them, and they also left the party on that side. [The] Pakou Alaman was also attacked without success. We lost there however a hussar: the brigadier Droestenburg was killed by a kris blow. What increased this loss is that, the corpse not having been removed immediately, the brigands came back to the charge and cut off his head which they carried away (177). Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy had retreated on all points.

Thus passed this day that we had been waiting for a month and which was to be so fatal to us. It seems that the enemy is discouraged. All night, the bendé [bendh] (178) was heard for the gatherings. However, he has shown much less world than in the other attacks. The *kouls* have almost disappeared, and the attacks were weak, poorly sustained, and without the clamor that usually accompanied them; as for the princes and their escort of priests we have not seen them, and Sultan Agon was mistaken about the day of our ruin! Received a letter from Sagermans who tells us that everything is quiet in the vicinity of Klaten.

Wednesday, August 23rd The Tomogong who has the guard in the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara] has taken a *brandal* who has given us some news of the loss of the rebels in yesterday's day: at least on the side of the great avenue they were in the number of a thousand men of whom sixty had firearms and sixty *koult*. The rest were armed with pikes. They were to plunder the Chinese camp [kampung cina] and bring the booty to their chief who would pay them for this day 20 s. [sols]. This man [says] that Monnoye has put forty men out of action. On their return to Tegal Ridjo (179), which was the rallying point, they were no more than five hundred men. There are many people sick by the lack of opium, and the *koult* no longer want to march.

While they were fighting, the princes were at Krapiak. It is unfortunate for us that we cannot move forward at this moment. Such a demonstration would probably oblige the princes to move away entirely from Djocja. In the evening we were warned that they must attack us tomorrow, in the morning at eleven o'clock. Prince Pakou Alam asked for reinforcements. Thirty-five men were sent to him. He is always the one who gives the alarm. It must be admitted that the government, by giving this prince four thousand *tyatas* and independence to establish a counterweight with the power of the sultans of Mataram [i.e. Yogyakarta], has not until this moment reason to praise its gratitude. The troops, which he must maintain, are hardly worth more than [those] of our *priaie* [priyayi] of the Priangan (180). He has refused to be the guardian of the young Sultan and until now we are obliged to defend for him what we have given him, which certainly was not the intention of the government. An order of the commander is circulating for tomorrow's feast (181).

Thursday, August 24th At seven o'clock, Mr. the Resident received for H.M. [His Majesty] (182) the customary congratulations: in the morning a salute of 55 cannon shots was fired. Since the morning there was a gathering on the side [of the] Pakou Alaman. At ten o'clock they made several times mine of attacking. A few cannon shots were enough to make them withdraw. They did not reappear. At noon there was a meal at the residence: gentlemen the civil and military officers as well as the Javanese princes were invited.

Friday, August 25th Two columns under the orders of Captains Boens and Comsius have left this morning to go foraging. They experienced no resistance and brought back some horned beasts and *padi*. On the return, I again heard many complaints about one of the chiefs of these detachments (183): he had led his troop and his cavalry into a village so hidden that in case of attack no one could have gotten out. Some Javanese had hidden in a drain they had dug. A *santri* lunged at a sergeant and would have snatched his rifle, but Lieutenant De Gros (184) struck him with his saber. Then this furious man seized the officer, knocked him down, and was piercing him with his kris when a Madurese soldier saved his life by killing the Javanese at point-blank range. All that was in the ditch was killed, and the priest's wife was massacred with two small children.

Saturday, August 26th [Captain] Monnoye went out with Chevallier at the head of a detachment to look for food. They headed for the road to Bedoyo to the désa Klaka [Glagah] (185). A large number of inhabitants, Chinese, bourgeois [and] Javanese, had followed the column: all brought back rice for a few days. This detachment returned to the fort without engaging with the enemy who presented approximately a thousand men. He followed to the white pillar [i.e. Witte Paal or Tugu] without however approaching more than within two musket ranges of our people who were retreating slowly. This outing has procured a lot of rice.

Saturday, August 27th I began today the sketch of a map of the surroundings of Dyocja after another very mediocre map that Chevallier possesses. It is a question of inserting there the information that various people who know the country can give us, especially the surroundings of Sélarong which is, as I have already said, the retreat of the rebel princes. They have chosen very well: 7 to 8 miles away from Djocja, this désas is separated from the road that goes to Brosot by *sawas* [sawah] through which there are only bad paths; behind Sélarong flows the Kali Bedok [Bedhog] which separates this désas from Sélarong Koulon [Kulon] also called Kenthollan [K ntholan] (186), located at the foot of the limestone mountains which provide them with a retreat, on the kala Progo [Praga] and from there in the Bagalen [Bagelen]. Everything was very quiet throughout the day.

Sunday, August 28th This morning [Captain] Monnoye made another sortie, but he found nothing in the places that had been indicated to him, and he brought back very little rice. I received a letter from Sagermans: everything was quiet in Klaten. We know that the troops of Sumanap [Sumenep] (187) have finally arrived in Samarang. Sergeant Ermatinger (188) has been appointed officer. The kouli who brought back the letters says he saw brigands on the road. According to the reports, we must be attacked again tomorrow at four o'clock in the morning. Little attention is paid to these tales. We are used to them.

Monday, August 29th The whole day passed without us seeing the enemy. Towards the evening, some gatherings were seen, and at ten o'clock Captain Cloersterhuis left with a detachment. We have been told that at one o'clock the enemy will undertake something. There has been a magnificent moonlight: we will be able to see him come. Wrote to Schneither and Sagermans.

Tuesday, August 30th Around nine o'clock in the morning, we heard two cannon shots from the side of the Pakou Alaman; the enemy had shown himself, and two cannonballs had been enough to engage him to withdraw. He made about the same maneuver on the road to Gamping and in the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara] and did not reappear all day. It seems that the people are coming back, at least judging by the population that one sees in the streets, but the dearness increases (189): a Chinese teacup of rice is paid up to f. 1.15, and rice is no longer within the reach of the poor. Overwhelmed with annoyances, we make vows to hasten the arrival of the troops and the generals who must act offensively.

Wednesday, August 31st By dint of changing and erasing, I hope to make something passable of my little map; and this day offers nothing particular but a little more boredom than yesterday. One of our clandestine couriers has brought us letters from Solo and Samarang. What he has told us most interesting is the arrival in Samarang of General Van Geen (190) on the 22nd [August] at noon, that 500 Madurese had already left this residence having Major De Baste [De Bast] (191) at their head, that the part of the expedition from Makassar [Makasar] that had been sent to Borneo and which has been countermanded was expected every day (192) and that there was already a certain number of troops and food gathered in Klaten. As Sagermans still asks me to write to him, it is probable that he has not received my letter of the 29th [August].

The rumor is that we must be attacked the day after tomorrow. Little attention is paid to these tales. We are used to them. Other reports say that Diponegoro has forbidden any offensive attack until the arrival of General De Kock. He is training his troops who are greatly diminished. It is also said that it is against his order that the surroundings of Djocja-Karta have been set on fire; he rejects these devastations on Adi Nogoro. I am writing all this only to fill my day.

Thursday, September 1st No interesting event has happened today. The grass cutters have seized a brandal that the soldiers of the kraton have shot. According to the Javanese, carrier of letters from Klaten, there were very few brigands on the road, but the road was very encumbered with trees, bamboos [and] holes. They have employed all their means to make it impractical.

Friday, September 2nd Misery increases every day: a Chinese teacup of rice is worth 12 sols and this is far from sufficient for the consumption of a

man (193). It is in the kraton that famine is most felt: five people have died there of starvation according to the report that was made this morning to Lieutenant Wiseman. The rebels, not being able to succeed by force, want to starve us. For this purpose, they have disposed guards on all the avenues who massacre all the Javanese who attempt to bring some food into Djocja (194). The arrival of food and help is becoming urgent, and yet it is said that H.E. General De Kock cannot arrive only for the tenth [September].

The brigands, having drawn some grass cutters into a village under pretext of selling them [arèn] sugar, have cut off their heads; another of these unfortunates was mortally wounded in the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara].

Saturday, September 3rd I have written to Sagermans. For the rest, nothing new. Here is the copy of an official letter Nr 376; the work shows the master (195):

Djocja-Karta, 6 augustus 1825 (196).

“Met leedwezen moet ik UWed. kennis geven dat het volk van Z.H den Sultan meest allen weggelopen zijn zoodat thans weinig volk meer de kraton bewaakt, en wy, geen genoegzaam troepen hebbende, niet in staat zijn dezelve te bewaken.

Gisteren zijn 30 priesters tegelijk weggelopen en van de pragoerits blijven er nog maar weinig over. Zonder spoedige hulp raakt de kraton in vijands handen en waarschijnlijk ook de jonge Sultan en de Ratoe Agoeng met de Tommongong majoor Wiro Ngoro, de enigste die ons nog getrouw schijnt te wezen. Of wel men veraadt ons weder van die kanten en Ratoe Agoeng met Wiro Ngoro nemen de jonge Sultan met zich en vervoegen zich tot de vijandige prinsen.

In dat geval hebben wij niemand meer om ons bij te staan: wij zullen ons in het fort moeten opsluiten, de Europeesche en Chineesche kampen in de brand zien steken en, zonder het te kunnen beletten, de ingezetenen van beide die kampen zien vermoorden zonder hem enig hulp te kunnen toebrengen, en wij zullen uit gebrek in het fort omkomen. Welk een schrikkelijk vooruitzicht!

Weest zoo goed de inhoud van deze brief mede te deelen aan Zijne Excellentie den Luit. -Gouverneur [De Kock] alzo het mogelijk is dat mijn brief, aan Zine Excellentie voor Klaten verzonden wordende, niet teregt kwam.

Gisteren 15 de Tommongong [Ranadiningrat?] die wacht had aan de pilaar [Witte Paal] door een bende rovers aangevallen en aan den arm gewond door een geweerschot, terwijl een van zijn gevolg een schot gekregen heeft aan het been. Het vs de groote dag van de oude Sultan die te Soerabaya is (197).

Aan den Heere Resident van Kadoe.”

[Translation: “It is with sorrow that I must inform Your Honor that the people of H.H. the Sultan have mostly all run away, so that there are now few people guarding the kraton, and we, having no sufficient troops, are not able to guard it.]

Here are some features of a proclamation of the same person [i.e. Smissaert] promulgated on [... August 1825] (198) to the effect of engaging the inhabitants and chiefs to return to their duty and to profit from the pardon that is offered to them by the Resident and by their sovereign. After some threat of our arms, one reads what follows (199).

“Reeds hebt gijlieden ondervonden het vermogen onzer wapens, getuige de vele ongelukkigen die (uw) neergevallen zijn: ons kruit en lood veranderd in geen water (200) gelijk uwe domme priesters, waarvan de meeste noch schrijven noch lezen kunnen veel minder verstaan de Mahomedaansche godsdienst, uwlieden hebben wijs gemaakt; bedervers uwlieder rust en huiselijke genoegens, verstaan zij de kunst uwlieden, onnozele, goede menschen te bedriegen en zich ten uwen kost te verrijken.”

[Translation: “You have already experienced the power of our weapons, witness the many unfortunates who have fallen (yours): our powder and lead turned into no water (200) as your foolish priests, most of whom can neither write nor read, much less understand the Mahomedan religion, have made you wise; destroyers of your peace and domestic pleasures, they understand the art of deceiving you, innocent, good people, and enriching themselves at your expense.”]

After this useless diatribe against the priests, one finds what follows (201).

“Allen die hierwaarts willen komen moeten zich ongewapend bij de Rijksbestuurder vervoegen en tot bewijs van hunnen goede en vreedezame gezindheid moeten zij eene weinig brandhout, gras of andere kleinigheden, producten hunner landen medebrengen...”

[Translation: “All who wish to come here must apply unarmed to the Rijksbestuurder and as proof of their good and peaceful disposition, they must bring a little firewood, grass or other small things, products of their lands...”]

Then the author makes an essay of confidence that he has inspired to the Javanese (202).

“Gy kent my, nimmer heb ik gekneveld of mishandeld gedurende mijn vier en twintig jarig verblyf op dit eiland, maar altyd heb ik uwe belangen voorgestaan. Ik verlang alleen de herstelling van uwe vorige rust. Zijt gij verongelijkt: brengt voor mij uwe bezwaren, ik zal u regt doen wedervaren!

Geeft gehoor aan mijne welmeende vaderlijke vermaningen. Keer tot de bebouwing uwer velden etc...”

[Translation: “You know me, I have never shackled or mistreated during my twenty-four year stay on this island, but I have always championed your interests. I only desire the restoration of your former peace. Are you wronged: bring your grievances before me, I will do you justice! Hear my well-meaning paternal admonitions. Return to the cultivation of your fields etc...”]

The European, who knows the character of most of the peoples of India and their principle of passive obedience, will be able to judge this paternal manner of the master to recall his subjects to duty!

Sunday, September 4th The day has been extremely quiet: to write something I am still obliged to report a letter written to the Resident of Kadou dated August 23, from the same writer as the pieces that I have cited above (203). After describing our unfortunate position, the need of the bourgeois and the Chinese and the skirmish of the 22nd [August] (204), he speaks in these terms of the expenses that the circumstances occasion him (205):

“Morgen vieren wy de jaardag van Z.M. de Koning [Willem I]. Dagelijks hebben wij aan 80 menschen ten minste de kost te geven want de meeste officieren, zoowel van onze troepen als die van den Keizer [i.e. Sunan Pakubuwana VI] en van den Prins Manko Ngoro, eeten by ons, kunnende zij zelve niets te koop krijgen. Hierby hebben wij gelogeerd de vorstelijke famile, die niets heeft voor de dagelijkse consumptie. Dus kunt UEd. wel nagaan dat onze huishouding thans zeer kostbaar is [en] wij dezelve niet lang meer kunnen gaande houden.”

[Translation: “Tomorrow we celebrate the anniversary of H.M. the King [Willem I]. Every day we have to feed at least 80 people, for most officers, both from our troops and those of the Emperor [i.e. Sunan Pakubuwana VI] and from Prince Manko Ngoro, eat with us, as they themselves cannot buy anything. Here we have lodged the royal family, who has nothing for daily consumption. So Your Honor can well see that our household is now very expensive [and] we can no longer keep it going.”]

It is true that the Resident has nourished the officers of the allied troops: Colonel Achenbach and some officers and carabineers, but [the] captains Boewens, Verboon, Van Ganzen, Keer, Monnoye, Komsius [and the] lieutenants Mossel, Steenberg [Van Steenberg] (206), Le Clerg [Le Clercq] (207), Vanderplats [Van der Plas], Gaum (208), Delatre, Abell, [De] Burbure and the physician Ghislan [Ghislain] (209), have eaten at his house only by written invitation, and that the family of the Sultan has always nourished themselves of foods prepared in the kraton and paid by the Ratou

Agon. Thus, it is a lie to put this expense into account (210). Besides, it is not the first nor the last.

In the evening at Mr. the Resident's dinner, we were surprised to hear a noisy music of bastringue destined to recreate or to stun gentlemen the guests. The famine [that] torments the kraton, the bourgeois, and the Chinese, makes a terrible contrast with this joyous meal. An officer who was attending it and who was descending from the guard of the kraton (211) related that the Ratou Agon had made him pray to preserve for the natural children of the Sultan the rice that could remain at their meal, [because] that these poor children came to ask them for something to eat several times a day.

He was interrupted to tell him that it was very good to be moved for such tales, that the Ratou Agon was an old rascal who was hiding money and refusing to help the government and that it would be useless to take care of all those sons of P...

When will the general [i.e. De Kock] arrive?

Monday, September 5th This morning one of our spies reported that he had learned that a corps of 6 to 7,000 of the troops of Solo and Prince Manko Nogoro had arrived through the Goenoeng Kidoul [Gunung Kidul] (mountains of the South) at Blimbing and [...] (212) with the intention of seizing the Mingiri [Imagiri] (213) and thus prevent the passage to the enemy in case he wanted to seek refuge in these mountains. Various rebel chiefs have been directed on the road to Klaten to prevent the passage of a large column of troops that is marching towards us. The name of the chiefs, and the posts that they were to occupy, is contained in this report which revives the hope that we have to be soon rescued. However, on our side, we have received no official news.

In the evening, meal and music. We know by the report made to Lieutenant Wiseman that, in the night of the 2nd to the 3rd [September] five people died of hunger in the kraton.

Tuesday, September 6th Captain Van Ganzen, with a picket, went this morning near the first bridge on the road to Klaten to support people of the Raden Adipati who were working to restore the conduit or canal that brings water into the moat of the fort (214). It appears that for lack of this water, our wells in the interior are also dry. I offered myself to visit the state of this conduit by going up it from the fort. Chevallier, Monnoye, and Lieutenant Abell came with me, besides six European soldiers to escort us. We went up the canal about a mile from Djocja. There, we saw the water that was arriving, but the sands that it must cross are preventing it until this moment from reaching the fort.

A letter addressed to a Chinese tells us that those of this nation who have gathered in Djono [Jana] in the Bagalen [Bagelèn] (215) continue to hold out against the revolted. But they are very pressed: many of them are sick, and they fear not being able to resist the enemy any longer. The need torments us more and more. Some women have come from Pantjou: they have reported that the brigands have razed to the ground the entire plantation of Mr. Bowens van der Boyen (216). They have unearthed the money that had been buried there and torn up even the flowers from the garden. These women had met no one on their way.

Wednesday, September 7th This morning some brigands showed themselves towards [the] Pakou Alaman. Captain Cloesterhuis sent them away with some cannon shots. In the evening a Chinese arrived from Sélarong. Taken in seeking to procure food, he however managed to escape. He says that Dipo Ngoro has given the order no longer to attack us and to confine himself to defending with care the passage of food. He has announced that he wants to perish in Sélarong which he has had fortified with a ditch and a palisade defended by eight small cannons (217) of which one, if one wants to believe him, is a poussaka [pusaka] descended from the sky and that for this reason it [is] religiously covered with a piece of silk (tindé [cindhé]) (218). He has also asked those who were decided to die with him, and 152 rebels have sworn the oath to him. On the other hand, we are told that several dessas no longer want to obey him and that their intention is to hoist a white flag to make themselves recognized (219).

These reports have been confirmed to us by other people who have also left Sélarong. When will H.E. the Lieutenant Governor arrive? The pound of rice was worth f. 1.15 yesterday (220).

Thursday, September 8th Nothing very particular. A grass cutter, taken by the brigands these days, was sent back from Sélarong because he said he belonged to the troops of the Emperor of Solo [Pakubuwana VI] (221). Those who belong to the Dutch, Chinese, to the princes Mangko Ngoro [and] Pakou Alam [and to the] [Radèn Tumenggung major] Wiro Ngoro or to the Raden Adipati [Danureja IV] are beheaded mercilessly. No news from Solo. Wrote to Mr. de [Van der] Capellen (222), to Sagermans and to Saleh (223). According to the reports, the enemy must attack [the] Pakou Alaman tomorrow. It's always the same thing.

Friday, September 9th Nothing has happened that deserves attention. The enemy has broken this night the dike that we had restored to bring water into the fort (224). He continues to tighten us more and more.

Saturday, September 10th This morning Chevallier, other people, and I had left the palisade to see try a grenade mortar. Mr. the Resident was there too. Some men were sent to reconnoiter the place where the projectile, which had not exploded, had fallen. Then a gunfire was engaged: some bullets, or rather some ingots of tin, fell among us. One of them

whistled in such a way at our ears that we all lowered our heads. [Captain] Monnoye with some soldiers chased these skirmishers beyond the river. During this time, the enemy appeared on several points towards [the] Pakou Alaman. The cannon was fired for a couple of hours. [Captain] Verboon put his hussars in battle, and towards ten o'clock, the enemy retreated. He has shown today more firmness and seemed more numerous than these past days. It now appears that we must not expect the general [i.e. De Kock] until the 15th [September]. Our situation frightens us. Courage is extinguished, and the future makes us shudder. No news.

Sunday, September 11th The commander sent a detachment to restore the dike of the kali Tiodé [Codé] (225), but the brigands had established themselves in number in the vicinity of the river; the detachment was obliged to leave this work. In the evening [De] Burbure and Abell, strolling on horseback in front of the Pakou Alaman, saw two men who were rushing towards them; others were pursuing them at a short distance. The first [held] papers. Then these two gentlemen spurred on towards these two men who were messengers from Pakou Alam with letters from Klaten and Samarang. By our situation, one can judge the interest that these letters inspired and with what impatience we awaited their distribution. But their content further diminishes our hope and increases our misfortune. Until this moment, grave circumstances have prevented the general from coming to our aid sooner. Without fixing the day, he announces to us that he will arrive and that, from Djenou [Jenu] (226), he will announce his approach by three cannon shots. He finishes his letter dated from the 10th [September] saying that everything is quiet. A letter that our friend Monnoye has received from his wife has explained to us the grave and very worrying circumstances of which the general speaks. The districts of Grobogan and Demak, [in the] residence of Semarang, have risen (227). The insurrection there is general: an expedition has left Semarang against the rebels under the orders of a captain [De] Lasassie [Lassasie] (228). To one hundred men of infantry, the crews of the vessels at anchor and a detachment of bourgeois on horseback with three field pieces had been joined. On the 3rd of the current [i.e. September] there was a combat that turned to our disadvantage: we must have lost our artillery, many people, and eleven or twelve bourgeois cavalrymen (229). The rebels have profited from their victory and have approached Semarang where they [have] thrown a lot of fear. General Van Geen had arrived there on the 31st [August] and not on the 22nd [August]. There have also arrived 300 troops from Sourabaya, and one expects some from Borneo and Batavia who have just arrived from Europe. Alas, will all these reinforcements arrive in time? What a future! Will I see my homeland again and...

Monday, September 12th We have several officers sick, among others Captain Boens. Chevallier has also taken the fever this morning. In the evening [Captain] Monnoye has received the order to prepare a strong

outing for tomorrow morning. The day has been very quiet. We have not yet heard the blessed cannon shots.

Tuesday, September 13th The friend Monnoye had found himself very unwell this night, [the] captains Kloesterhuis and Keer have left with the detachment. Having taken by the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara], they have turned towards the west and have passed the Winongo [Kali Winonga] (230) and attacked the enemy who was in force on the side of Tegal Ridjo. It was only after a fairly lively gunfire that he abandoned a dessa or village where we found rice and salt. The lack of kouli prevented to profit much [from it]. The brigands were arriving on the troops from all points, and it was necessary to withdraw and cross the river again. The enemy was following very closely up to these banks. Then Lieutenant Mossel, with the field piece, began to fire on them, and they took flight. Our detachment returned in order having lost only two men from Solo who had remained behind in the village (231) that had been plundered. In the evening the Resident received letters from the Kadou of which the content appears very satisfactory: all this residence is pacified. [Colonel] Cleerens (232) has arrived there with Mr. Holmberg [de Beckfelt] (233), after having made the districts of Djabarangka [Jabarangkah] (234) return to order. The Panembahan of Sumanap [Sumenep], arrived in Samarang with 3,000 men, has attacked and submitted Demak (235). The assistant-resident of Solo Tiga [Salatiga] [P.H. van Reede van Oudtshoorn] has taken a chief of the rebels who had several small pieces of artillery (236). It is to be hoped that we are going to receive reinforcements which will put us in a position to attack in our turn and especially will bring us the food that we will absolutely lack. This day we have had for food only boubour [bubur] made of rice and coconut almond. It is a miserable food that fills and nourishes little. Chevallier and Monnoye are better.

Wednesday, September 14th Nothing has happened that deserves attention. In the evening, three Tomenggons from Solo, of those who were to go and resume the government of their respective regencies, were put under arrest. It is said that they wanted to leave us clandestinely. That is not astonishing: these poor people are dying of hunger, and already they have sold all that they possessed. In these unhappy times what causes pain to the honest people is to see individuals, even one of our officers, profit from the distress where everyone finds himself to acquire at low price very precious objects, or lend at an interest that soon surpasses the capital (237). Will the general not arrive?

Thursday, September 15th The rumor has spread that the general will arrive only on the 18th [September]. Our food for the troops was exhausted since yesterday, but still there has been gathered for three days. The enemy appears to have moved to some other point for there are few people around us. They confine themselves to preventing all communication. A dragoon of Lieutenant Wiseman, having advanced too far to look for food, has been

taken by the brigands. It is said that he has been dressed in Javanese (238) and taken to Sélarong.

Friday, September 16th We have received letters this morning: Sagermans, who has received none of mine, writes me that a considerable transport of food has arrived in Klaten, but it appears that the general will come to our aid only towards the 20th [September]. The letters from Samarang are always worrying: we have 2,000 men in Demak where General Van Geen has been in person. The rebels on this side appeared to be heading for Oenarang [Ungaran]. The regent of Samarang, whose two sons have fled, has been arrested. It is perhaps a question of the old Regent Adi Mangolo [Adimanggala]. This afflicts me in relation to Saleh, my pupil, who is his relative (239). On the 11th [September] everything was quiet in Samarang.

We have been informed of a report inserted in the gazette of Batavia (240): after having made mention of the zeal of all the officers of our garrison, there are cited as having particularly distinguished themselves the captains Comsius, Keer, and Lieutenant Sikes [Sickesz]. According to the manner in which the first has conducted himself in the various skirmishes where he has found himself, this report has greatly indisposed our other officers. Several have testified loudly their discontent. It has been replied that those who have had some particular commands should have, like Captain Comsius, made long reports in writing (241). This is to warn these gentlemen that, in their art, the style is for much and that the stupidities well written will always make fortune. I must admit that it is quite the fashion in this country and it is not the first time that I have noticed it.

Saturday, September 17th Some brigands have tried this night to enter the European camp: one of them has been killed, the others have taken flight. It is said that some Chinese make common cause with the rebels and that two of them have the project to assassinate the Chinese captain [Kapitan Cina] (242). What rabble! Today a woman has brought to Major Tomungong Wiro Ngoro a letter from Adi Ngoro written in the name of Dipo Ngoro who calls himself Sultan and takes a great number of titles of the most sumptuous (243). Pangéran Amanko Boumi [Mangkubumi] has taken that of Panumbahan (244). The new Sultan gives himself for an apostle of Islamism coming to regenerate the religion among the Javanese (245). A moment later, he speaks of a Kiai Gourou [Kyai guru] from the dessa Bendoh [Bendha] (246) who has told him to engage again the Tomogong Wiro Ngoro, in the courage of which the people have great confidence, to leave the cause of the infidels to join his brothers the believers. He gives himself as guarantee (he, Adi Ngoro) that he has nothing to fear for his safety: he answers for it in this life and in the other. The brave major has remitted this letter to the Resident with whom he has had a long conference of which he has not appeared content. He has said, having returned to the kraton that they have reproached him for the

desertion of the people of the kraton; but how to hold men who are dying of hunger? The Resident has written officially to Chevallier to charge him to do the honors of the residence (247) while he would go to meet H.E. the Lieutenant Governor as far as Djénou [Jenu] (248). This is very contradictory with another letter, written previously, where he tells him that he no longer wants to see him in his house. One thing certain is that H.E. treats the affairs with Mr. Achenbach and that the Resident receives no letter (249).

Sunday, September 18th I have occupied myself during these past days to make a copy of the figurative map of the surroundings of Djocja. The first that I have made, by dint of corrections, had become very dirty. This evening a chief of Solo who was following the enemy party has presented himself to submit. He commands approximately 700 men on the side of Gamping. His pardon has been granted, and he has sworn the oath of fidelity on the Koran. This circumstance can be of great advantage to us; it remains to know to what point we must have confidence in him. Finally, the moment approaches, I hope, where we will be delivered. The last food is being distributed.

Monday, September 19th The chief, of whom I have spoken yesterday, has still returned this morning to assure himself of the good dispositions of his people. He promises the heads of two other chiefs. I have been told that they would wait to declare themselves for the arrival of the general. Everything appears quiet in the surroundings although, according to our spies, we should have been attacked.

Tuesday, September 20th The day has arrived where we must be rescued. Tomorrow our soldiers and our allies no longer have one [...] of rice to eat. Before noon Lieutenant Colonel Achenbach gave the orders to form the detachment that must leave at the moment when the cannon of Djénou will be heard. It is difficult to paint the worry and the impatience that are working us. These words: "have you heard nothing?", were repeated everywhere. At three and a half o'clock we left the fort with Chevallier and already the hope was abandoning us. A hussar arrives ventre à terre. The signal so desired has been heard. And this news communicates itself like electricity: the soldiers leave armed from their barracks without awaiting the order and the detachment, 400 men strong with two field pieces under the orders of Captains Verboon and Van Ganzen, leaves by the great avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. Mr. the Resident followed them on horseback with a pretty little saber that gave him the figure of a pretty little Sancho with common sense near (250). At six o'clock we learned that our troops had met the vanguard of the food convoy, that the general would arrive only in a few days and that Colonel Cochius was bringing us only reinforcements. A moment later, Lieutenant Schlosser (251), with the Tomogong from Délango [Delanggu] and Kali Koenig [Kali Kuning] and their brandals or irregular troops, entered by the avenue of Pakou Alaman. This lieutenant and the two

Tomogong that I have named have particularly distinguished themselves in the surroundings of Klaten.

After numerous small combats, they have managed to restore the tranquility as far as Brambanan and in all the country between the [Gunung] Marah Api and the mountains of the South [Gunung Kidul]. And towards nine o'clock arrived the Lieutenant Colonels Cochius, Gate [Gey] (253), [Captain] Du Bus (254), [Major] Paris de Montaigu and the Pangerang Adipati of Bankalan (Bangkalan) of Madura (255). The column could amount to four thousand men (256) of which a thousand Madurese, the company of flankers of the 18th regiment, fifty gunners with their captain, Steneken [Stennekes?] (257) and some other troops of the Sousouhoenan [Susuhunan Pakubuwana VI] and of Prince Manko Nogoro, plus food and ammunition etc. The letters were distributed, and I received three. The first, which was official, informed me that, by economic measure taken by the government of Europe, my job as architect of H.E. the Governor General was suppressed, which puts me in the same place where I was eight years ago (258). Fortune is beginning to turn its back on me! Two letters from Schneither mark to me that he has also suffered, as well as numerous employees, from these economies, but all these gentlemen have large appointments, and this must not be as sensible to them as to me.

Wednesday, September 21st. This morning, Colonel Cochius remitted to me a letter from H.E. the Governor General [G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen]: it contained the assurance that peremptory orders of H.M. [His Majesty] forced him to suppress me, [but] that he took all possible part in the loss that I was making; finally, this letter almost consoled me of my sorrow, and it increased my gratitude for H.E. [the Governor General].

Tomorrow, Colonel Cochius returns to Klaten with a part of the troops that he has brought and some others of the garrison that are withdrawn. I will profit from this opportunity to leave Djocja where my friendship for Chevallier has held me perhaps a little more than it was necessary and where certainly, dear friend [?] (259), I have passably suffered from all the annoyances of a siege. I have taken leave from Mr. the Resident who has been kind enough to wish me a good journey. Then, with Sagermans' housekeeper [Dame Catherine], we have worked all day to pack what we can take of his effects. I have bought myself a horse, and tomorrow we will leave a stay that I have found the most beautiful, the most agreeable and the most annoying that I have visited in Java.

Thursday, September 22nd Having taken leave of Chevallier, of Verboon, and of my other companions in distress, I have joined the column that has left Djocja towards six o'clock in the morning. My particular caravan was composed of Dame Catherine in a tandoh [tandhu] (260) and of fifteen prkoulans [pikulan] (261) of the effects of the friend Sagermans. Our column was well three thousand in extent and contained more than five

thousand people. The vanguard had two pieces protected by fifty hussars, thirty flankers, and a part of the troops of Prince Ario Manko Nogoro. We took our road by the avenue of the Pakou Alaman, and it was only at the approach of the country house of Poerwo Ridjo [Purwareja] (262) that we met the outposts of the rebels. A fairly lively gunfire was engaged, and some cannon shots were fired. Then the enemy abandoned this post without making us experience any loss. He could have, with a little courage, made us pay more dearly our passage through the walls that surround this countryside and that of Wono Tjator [Wanacatur] and of Pengawat ridjo [Pengawatreja] (263). After having passed the Gajawong river [Kali Gajahwong] (264), the column took the road that leads towards Njamplong [Nyamplung] (265). I found myself with the dragoons of the Sousouhounan and Lieutenant Schlosser. We took on the right, and soon all the dessas that were found on our passage were on fire. I never saw such a fire. What a sad spectacle to see a beautiful country destroyed! At least we can believe that no inhabitant has perished for we saw no one: the entire population had fled. We returned on the main road [to Solo] near Kali Kouning [Kuning]. There a troop of rebels began to harass us, sending us gunshots through the hedges and the bushes, but so far that they did us no harm. They followed us, however, as far as the Opak river where we rejoined the rearguard of the great column. Two cannon shots made them disappear. After having taken a moment of rest at the edge of the river [i.e. Kali Opak], the baggage was made to file through since all this side was quiet. The troops were reassembled in the rearguard, and we continued our march as far as Kali Gondang [Gondhang] (266). The country appeared abandoned on the other side of the river as far as Klaten. The Javanese were working in the fields. At two o'clock I arrived in Klaten, and the dear Captain Commander Sagermans hastened to make us forget the privations that we had experienced. In the evening, Messrs. Cochius, Gaie [and] Sturtun [?] (267) left for Soura Karta. In the night arrived Captain Bourdon (268), my compatriot, and the 1st and 5th companies of the 18th regiment; a Pangéran of Madura with 600 men arrived in Klaten.

Friday, September 23rd In the morning arrived the Pangéran Pourboyo [Purbaya], Ano Mataram [Aria Mataram] and Pangéran Bey [Ngabehi] (269) with 2,000 men.

Towards eight o'clock in the evening General Van Geen arrived in Klaten with Messrs. Cochius, Gate, etc. and the Panembahan of Sumanap. H.E. the Lieutenant Governor will arrive tomorrow.

Saturday, September 24th Towards two o'clock in the morning arrived Major Solwyn [Sollewijn] (270) and Captains van de Polder (271) and Servais (272), 200 European men of the 18th and 600 Madurese. At seven o'clock in the morning, H.E. the Lieutenant Governor De Kock, the Resident of Soura Karta, MacGillavry, the aides-de-camp, Major Elout (273), Captains Koelman (274) and De Stuers (275), and Lieutenant De Kock (276) arrived

in Klaten. In the morning, H.E. did me the honor to speak to me. I did my best to give him all the information that I had been able to collect. It appears that all the possible measures have been taken to prevent the rebel princes from escaping from Sélarong. Colonel Cleerens, Major De Bast and Mr. Holmberg [de Beckfelt], assistant-resident of Kandal [Kendhal], are marching by Menoreg [Menoreh] to throw themselves behind the [Kali] Praga (277). The mountains of the South [Gunung Kidul] are guarded by the troops of Prince Ario Manko Nogro (278). This prince and the Panumbahan of Sumanap show in this critical moment a zeal and an attachment to our government that one cannot praise too much. I have learned that, given the bad conduct held in the present conjectures by Mr. the Resident Smisart, he was going to be suspended (279).

The map, that I have fabricated, and the information that Chevallier has, have been liked: they relate generally with the notions that these gentlemen had collected in Solo. At least my long stay in Djoca has not been entirely useless.

In the expedition that General Van Geen has made lately in Demak, one of the people arrived this morning commanded a column (280). The design of the general had been to let be executed in part the ordinary maneuver of the enemy who always seeks, in withdrawing without fighting, to surround you, then to attack vividly his center [and] to cut him. During that the column and the officer of whom I have just spoken, who was marching parallel to the corps of the general, would have taken the enemy from behind and in flank in such a manner that nothing would have escaped of more than 2,000 men who were effectively cut and separated from their confederates. But this officer, who tarnishes great qualities by a disordered self-esteem, did not follow the orders that had been given to him and he made fail a maneuver of which the success was certain, which obliged the general [Van Geen] to have him relieved of his command. I have also been spoken to about Captain Comsius: it appears that one repents of having so lightly inserted him in the gazette (281)

At five o'clock General Van Geen passed the inspection of our small army divided into three columns according to the order that it must observe tomorrow in marching to Djocja. The first column is under the orders of Major Solwyn, the second is commanded by Captain Van de Polder, and the third by Captain Bourdon. All the evening and the greatest part of the night, [they] have prepared the food and baggage.

Sunday, September 25th At three o'clock in the morning, General Van Geen left Klaten with the first column; at four o'clock H.E. the Lieutenant General [De Kock] left with the second, and towards six o'clock [Captain] Bourdon closed the march with the third, which formed in all a corps of 600 men under arms, both regular troops and allies armed only with pikes. Towards one o'clock Lieutenant Schlosser also left us with Mr. [Von]

Krigenberg [Kriegenbergh], besides the irregular troops commanded by the Raden Tomogong ... (282). He has with him 230 men of the troops of the Sousouhoenan, two small pieces [and] four hussars. This flying camp will take post in the vicinity of Brambanan. To facilitate the communication, there will also be left for this effect a detachment in Djénou.

Monday, September 26th Nothing new. I will leave Klaten on the 28th [September]. I am regaining strength at Sagermans' and am eating like a starving man.

Tuesday, September 27th This morning 200 Madurese have again taken the road to Djocja. In the morning, I made a sketch of Klaten. The change of regime must influence me. I find myself unwell since yesterday for it is not all to eat. I am, following Des Barreaux (283), of those fats who amuse themselves wanting to digest.

This evening we received a letter from Mr. Captain Kloesterhuis. It informs us that those of the regents of Djocja Karta who command in the provinces of the east, vulgarly named Montjo Ngoro [mancanagara], have embraced the party of Dipo Ngoro with the exception however of two chiefs regents [Bupati Wedana] who have remained alone faithful but abandoned of their subordinates (284). This news is very worrying. Despite my indisposition, it will hasten my departure for Solo and Semarang.

Wednesday, September 28th I have taken leave from the dear pique of Dame Catherine, of this original of Mechlin [?]. I went on horseback to Soura Karta. From space to space, on the road, lay the heads or the bodies of some brigands, and some steps further from one of these corpses, some inhabitants were quietly taking their meal. I did not remark that the passers-by paid the least attention to these examples. Already at noon, I arrived in Soura Karta where I procured myself the means to reach Samarang. In the evening, Mr. [Cornets] de Groot (285) informed me that the Pangueran Sèrang (286), the same that General Van Geen has driven from Demak, had reappeared in these surroundings [and] that he proposed to attack Ampel [Ampèl] where we have a post. Letters have also come at the same moment from Djocja. Mr. MacGillavry was complaining a lot of the lack of food without giving us any political news. This made us think that on the 27th [September], date of this letter, the military operations were not yet begun.

Thursday, September 29th Rather worried on my passage to Ampel, I have left Soura Karta. I have consulted in Bayalali Lieutenant [Van der] Wees (287) who commands there. He tells us that Panguéran Seran [Pangéran Sèrang] and Mas Soukour [Sukur] (288) (son of the former regent of Samarang) had seized Gagatan (289) but that he had no worrying news on Ampel. I continued my road and found everything quiet and a lot of people on the passars [pasar] that are encountered on this road, especially in Ampel. I continued my road. In Salatiga, I was told that Mr. the assistant

resident de Reed van Oudhoorn [P.H. van Reede van Oudtshoorn] had left in the morning with two small pieces of artillery to go and reinforce the troops who are in the surroundings of Ampel (290).

I have arrived in Samarang where I have found many barricades and advanced posts and the urban guard (291), well dressed, doing the interior service. I have again learned worrying news: the troops of the Kadou under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Cleerens and Major De Bast have marched by Menoreh on Brenkelan [Brèngkèlan]. In their absence an enemy column has penetrated in the Kadou, repulsed our posts, taken a piece of cannon, and threatened Magelang. All this is becoming of a complication quite alarming (292).